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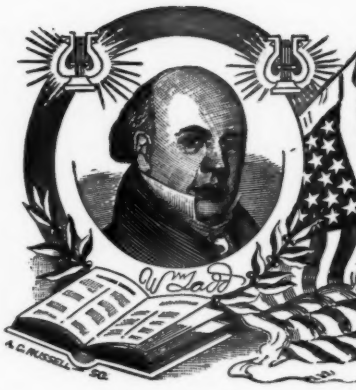

The Advocate of Peace.

BOSTON, DECEMBER, 1899.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

After madness, after massacre, Jacobinism and Jacquerie,
Some diviner force to guide us through the days shall I not see?

When the schemes and all the systems, kingdoms and republics fall,
Something kindlier, higher, holier — all for each, and each for all?

All the half-brain, full-brain races led by armistice, love and truth?
All the millions filled, at length, with all the visions of my youth?

All diseases quenched by science, no man halt or deaf or blind;
Stronger ever born of weaker, larger body, lustier mind?

Earth at last a warless world, a single race, a single tongue —
I have seen her far away, for is not Earth as yet so young?

Every tiger-madness muzzled, every serpent-passion killed;
Every grim ravine a garden, every blazing desert tilled;

Robed in universal harvest up to either pole she smiles,
Universal ocean softly washing all her warless isles.

TENNYSON.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
EDITORIALS	251—253
The Angels as Reformers — The Dewey Demonstrations — a Symptom.	
EDITORIAL NOTES	253—259
The Court of Arbitration — Peace Sunday — Philippine Commission — The Wars — Arbitration with Russia — Samoan Settlement — Alaskan Boundary — No Faith in Fatalism — Bottle-holder to Monarchy — A War Exposition — W. C. T. U. Convention — Race and Civil War — International Law Association — Armed Men an Obstacle — Spencer's Opinion of War — Military Corruption — The Nobel Bequest — Helping the Doukhobors — Japan's War Burdens — Dr. Patton's Prophecy — Secretary in Cuba.	
BREVITIES	259
War Disenchanted. *Poem, revised and enlarged by E. P. Marvin*	260
A Young Man's Vision. *Charles W. Stubbs, D. D.* .	261
The Redemptive Power of Love. *B. O. Flower* . .	264
This Unholy War. *George W. Hoss*	267
Why the Alaska Boundary Commission Failed . .	268
Commerce Will Suppress War	269
War's Cup of Woe	270
No Tonic to Literature	270

The Angels as Reformers.

If the angels of the first Christmas night should suddenly appear again, one wonders whether they might not weep instead of sing. Nineteen hundred years have gone by, and what do we see? The two professedly foremost nations in all the higher elements of Christian civilization engaged in two mean and miserable wars, largely of their own making! It had been hoped that they would close the century as shining examples of peace and goodwill, and lead the whole family of nations forever away from the curse of war. Instead, they have failed to enter into obligations of permanent peace with each other, and their present "good understanding," so far as it goes, is suspiciously near to simple support of each other in their wars.

One of these nations, having more than a hundred thousand Christian churches among its people, has so conducted itself in its efforts to "civilize" the world that it now finds itself with an army of sixty thousand men on the other side of the globe, wading swamps, tearing through jungles, swimming rivers, in order to hunt down and shoot ill-civilized men, among whom it ought to have been sending these fifty years thousands of missionaries of the loving and helpful Christ. What wail of sorrow might not the angels chant at sight of the piling millions which we are consuming on our growing army and navy, which the Christ would have had us spend to the last penny in saving, educating and refining those whom we have driven by our blundering and inconsiderate selfishness to hate, despise and repel us!

What agonizing cries, rending the very heavens, might we not expect at sight of the awful tragedy enacting itself in South Africa! Great Britain, with her fifty thousand churches, her Christian queen, her missions compassing the Eastern half of the world,—see her, with her entire army on foot, in a cruel life and death struggle with a brave people whom her aggression and greed hounded, nagged and insulted into uncontrollable desperation! At such a gigantic failure of her Christian mission (nations are to be judged by their Christian attainments) how could the heavenly hosts refrain from tears of great sadness!

Again, how could the angels do aught but weep over the accumulated folly and madness of armed Europe, spending a thousand millions a year on the forces and implements of death, the Christian spirit of love and self-sacrifice repressed or totally banished from her political councils, her separate governments confessedly pagan in their ultimate relations one to another!

No one, not even an angel, can think long and intently over all these facts without the greatest depression.

But there is another side. Things were infinitely worse when Jesus of Nazareth was born. There was then not the faintest ray of promise of the coming of love and peace in either the social or the political relations of the world. Discord reigned everywhere. Society was hopelessly rotten. The peace that prevailed was the peace of universal repression and fear. Not a movement anywhere indicated the rejuvenation of the dying social and political order. And yet the angels sang, jubilantly sang.

But it was because of the hope which they brought with them that they sang, not because of anything which they saw in either Judaism or heathenism. There was to be something new in the world, which it had never practically known, which was to subdue and redeem it. In this they were so intensely interested that they were utterly oblivious of all the wickedness and wretchedness of which the earth was so full. Their business was with the life and power and glory of Him who had come, with the new order which He was to introduce, and this they meant to sing into the confidence and hope of men.

What would they find to-day? Some of the old forces and systems of evil remaining and grown to unprecedented proportions, but some of them overthrown and gone forever. They would no longer find a simple hope and promise bursting on the world from the invisible, but in addition multitudes of men and women in many lands living and dying for the sake of His kingdom over whose advent they sang in the hopeless days of pitiless Rome. They would find a vast transformation in the life of the world, in family, in community, in nation. So deeply interested would they be in all this,— the old hope still the same, the wonders wrought by it in the nineteen centuries gone by,— that they would have little eye for the great evils still existing. Not even the armies of the Kaiser and the Czar, or the fleet of England, would awaken their notice. With hosannas would they sing of the triumphs already won, the more glorious triumphs yet to be, of the victorious Christ who is to extend His kingdom of righteousness, love and peace over all the earth.

The angels were the true reformers. We mortals cannot do as well as they. We can, however, follow their method. Being more intimately connected with the evils of the world, we must scrutinize them closely and make our everlasting protest against them. But much more must we live in the good which is, which is to be. This must be our life, our hope, our joy. Evil abounds and will abound for a time; good abounds and will abound forever. Like the angels, like the Master, we must overcome the evil, not by feeding upon it, not by breaking our hearts over its ravages, but by rising above it, by living and singing the good and the lovely into its place, by realizing the kingdom of love and peace in ourselves, and by the power and attractiveness of an endless life "compelling" others into "a like precious faith." The towering systems of evil — of hate and lust and war — will go down, when towering systems of good lives built into holy and mighty institutions, which appeal to the imagination and captivate the heart, go up. No evil ever departs till good forces it away.

This is the method, this only. It is God's way; it must be ours. When sense of evil degenerates into weeping, despairing pessimism, reform is dead. When sense of good fills and masters the soul, reform never languishes.

The Dewey Demonstrations — A Symptom.

A delegate to the recent International Congregational Council, coming from Manchester, England, wrote to the Boston *Transcript* as follows, of his painful surprise at observing "how completely all classes of Americans seemed to be 'gone' on Admiral Dewey, who could hardly have been more grandly feted if he had conquered the world for America," or been "as great an emancipator of an enslaved race as President Lincoln":

"What would a shrewd, level-headed American think of a surgeon who, having performed a difficult operation and saved a valuable life, should forthwith proceed to decorate his surgical instruments with ribbons and execute a war-dance around them, amid a shower of costly fireworks? But if we profess to believe that war, at its best, is but a 'necessary evil,' is not the hysterical glorification of brute force after a successful war (especially when innocent children, alas! are encouraged to join in the shouts which imply to all thoughtless minds that patriotism and brute force are inseparable) as irrational at least as that above supposed?

"It will, of course, be said that all nations indulge in this kind of glorification. Quite true, but I answer: (1) the thing has never been carried to such excess before in modern times; (2) that a country which more than any other on earth has proved that

> 'Peace hath her victories,
> Not less renowned than war,'

might be expected to set an example, at least, of moderation in such affairs; (3) that, as all history proves that liberty and militarism are sworn foes, we in England — who are beginning to hear the echoes of our jubilee shouts of 'Rule Britannia' in muttered proposals of the conscription — would suggest to this land of the free-born to beware of the errors of other nations, and especially of the French republic, which has, by first nursing and then worshiping its army, found itself at the feet of a dangerous monster."

It is against this "hysterical glorification of brute force" exhibited in the recent demonstrations that we are compelled to protest. If Dewey had had his way in the matter, there would have been no such demonstrations. However much he may have finally yielded to their seduction, he was in the beginning opposed to them. They were distasteful to his sense of reserve and modesty. He knew, too, perfectly well that his deed at Manila was, even from a military point of view, much overrated and did not deserve any extravagant public recognition. Again and

again he declared at New York that he had done nothing worthy of the extraordinary adulation poured upon him. One of Dewey's chief virtues is that he hates lying, and we have not the least doubt that he meant what he said.

We have no disposition to disparage in the least the admiral's natural excellencies. His wisdom, courage and skill in execution are, from the military point of view, probably unsurpassed. Though we regret exceedingly that his fine qualities could not have been employed in some nobler way than in sinking ships and in mangling, burning and crushing to death his fellow-men, we do not deny their existence.

In one thing, however, he seems to us entirely to have failed and to have denied himself. General Grant refused to review the British army. He wanted to see no more soldiers. There was a pathetic sadness in his memory of the horrors of battle. War was in his judgment a thing to mourn rather than to glory over. If Dewey had been of like mind and courage, he would have refused absolutely all this "hysterical glorification." Here was his supreme opportunity to show himself loyal to himself and to exhibit a courage never displayed in passing forts in the darkness and sailing over dangerous torpedoes. If he had seen and used the opportunity, he might have taught his countrymen a lesson which they sadly need at the present time. He failed, and thus has given his great influence toward strengthening in the nation the most dangerous spirit which has ever appeared among the people. That he himself was at last affected by the same spirit became clear at Boston, where he declared that nothing else had moved him like the singing, by the Handel and Haydn Society, of the martial strain, "See, the conquering hero comes!"

The chief factor in the demonstrations on the part of the public was unquestionably the disposition to glorify the triumphant deeds of brute force. Other elements of course entered in. Admiration for Dewey's personal excellencies was prominent among them. Much must be allowed for the mere contagion of excitement and of crowds. Many of those who frantically shouted for Dewey would have done the same for any other man for whom the crowds were yelling. Mercenariness was not wanting. Patriotism, as ordinarily understood, was the chief motive with many. They saw in Dewey's deed at Manila what seemed to them the highest honor and glory of the country among the nations of the earth. But what is this sort of patriotism, after all, but the glorification of brute force?

The animus of the Dewey demonstrations becomes clear when it is remembered that it is only in praise of warlike exploits that such adulation occurs. No service, however noble, rendered to the country in any other way would have called out such vast throngs. Grand arches, fine houses, five thousand dollar loving-cups and thousand dollar watches are not given to men all at one time for any class of civic services. Furthermore, glorification of a deed of war was never before carried to such excess in modern times, if ever. The demonstration in New York is said by witnesses of both to have outdone that of the Queen's jubilee in London.

That all this clearly evinces a perilous condition of the republic hardly needs statement. It would have been an ominous thing anywhere; it was doubly so here. It is unlike anything of the kind which we have ever had before in the history of the nation. But it is only the fullest expression of what has been steadily growing in recent years and manifesting itself in various ways, in the passion to volunteer and rush away to fight, in the senseless laudation of such feats as those of Roosevelt, Hobson and Funston, in the ceaseless clamor for a larger army and a bigger navy, in the reckless appropriation of money for war purposes, in the vaunting wish to "have a hand" in the selfish and unmerciful struggles of the great military powers, in the determination to expand at the expense of no matter whose rights.

It is time that people were everywhere astir to counteract the movements of this strange "fascination of blood." There is still opportunity, but at the terrific speed at which the country is going, the opportunity will soon have passed. Love of country, if nothing more, ought to inspire every heart and open every mouth to cry out against this down grade movement, the end of which is clearly written in the book of the chronicles of every nation which gave itself to ambition and greed, to violence and blood.

Dewey won a victory at Manila in which not one American life was lost, but it will prove to have been a dear victory, if in its results America herself shall have been lost.

Editorial Notes.

The Court of Arbitration.

In an able article in the November *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Mr. Frederick W. Holls, Secretary of the American Commission at the Hague Conference, speaks thus of the Court of Arbitration provided for by the Conference:

"An international court of arbitration must necessarily represent the idea of international justice, whether it be in session continuously or only rarely, and whether the questions coming before it be of great or small immediate importance. The organization of this court is necessarily quite informal. It consists really of a clerk's office and a list of available judges, not more than four to be appointed from any one country, and with permission to any country to appoint a citizen of another or to unite with one or more in an appointment. The objection was raised at The Hague that such an institution was hardly entitled to be called a court, but it was pointed out that the organization of the Supreme Court of the State of New York and all the principal *nisi prius* courts

in other states is quite similar. The Supreme Court of the State of New York consists of seventy-six members, elected by various constituencies and never meeting or acting as a body. They are assigned to duty as occasion arises, but still they constitute one court. In the international court of arbitration each litigant in a particular case is to select two judges from the list, and the four thus chosen are to elect the fifth. When the court has been thus constituted the litigating parties are to sign what is called the compromise, but what is in reality the treaty of arbitration for the particular case, requiring on the part of the United States ratification in every instance. In this compromise the exact questions to be determined are to be stated and it is to contain an undertaking by the parties to abide in good faith by the decision. When this compromise has been signed by both parties and filed in the office of the clerk at The Hague, the machinery of the court will be put in motion, the judges will be summoned, and the proper rooms and staff of officers will be placed at their disposal at The Hague unless a different seat for the tribunal has been agreed upon."

Peace Sunday. The seventeenth of December, the third Sunday in the month, will again be observed this year as Peace Sunday. Peace Sunday has now been in existence since 1890, and each year the observance of it has grown more extended, particularly in Great Britain. It has taken hold to some extent in the continental European churches, but not largely. It is to be hoped that a larger number of American churches and Sunday Schools will give attention to the subject this year than ever before. The subject of peace, under the growth and development of the Kingdom of God, is a great and inspiring theme at any time. It is the theme of all others to be dealt with in the present conditions of the world. Notwithstanding the continued development of militarism and the gloom and uncertainty brought on by the distressing wars which are marking the century's close, the cause of peace has made prodigious advancement, as the great conference held this year at The Hague abundantly bears witness. The ministers of the gospel and the churches of entire Christendom ought to rally to the support of the cause as they have never yet done, and their efforts will be much more effective if they are united and simultaneous.

Philippine Commission. The Commission sent out by the President to investigate the situation in the Philippine Islands made its preliminary report on November 3. The early part of the report, so far as the published summaries of it indicate, is a special plea for the United States, and studiously avoids the real causes which led the Filipinos to distrust and desire to fight the United States. It holds that the war was unavoidable by us, which is, alas! only too true, after the course we had taken at Paris. "There is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission." This is also true, so long as we do not wish any other course open. The Commission says that the insurrection is not a national movement, but is mostly confined to Luzon and Panay. The insurgent forces are declared to be steadily disintegrating. That we have heard constantly for ten months. Aguinaldo, they say, is not struggling for the liberty of the Filipino people, but for the continuance of his own arbitrary and despotic power; but they do not tell us how it happens that he and his little band have managed to keep practically the whole eight millions of inhabitants attached to them. The Commission rates the general intellectual capacities of the Filipinos high, but declares that there is no intelligent public opinion on which self-government may rest. The Filipinos have had no training in self-government. They must, therefore, be forced to accept United States sovereignty and be governed as vassals until, after coöperation with the governing power for nobody knows how long, they shall become fitted for self-government and independence — and then? "Further deponent saith not," but what he would have said is perfectly evident. We confess that this preliminary report, in all that pertains to the real question at issue, reads as if it had been made up here at home, from rumors and newspaper reports and presidential advice. It is certainly an administration document throughout.

The Wars. A friend writes us from England that it is heartbreaking to follow the war in South Africa, which, in addition to the burden which it lays upon true English consciences, is proving thus far so disastrous in English as well as Boer lives. He writes that it is considered treason to hold an independent opinion, though there is so much to lead one to such an opinion. That is one of the gravest evils of war, that it destroys liberty of conscience and liberty of speech to such a large extent. There has been little news from the seat of war in South Africa, so strictly has the cable been censored. Mafeking and Kimberly are still closely invested by the Boers, and there have been rumors of severe fighting around the towns. The investment of Ladysmith continues, and the Boers are making strenuous efforts to capture the place before British relief can arrive. The British troops are rapidly arriving at Cape Town and Durban, and are being pushed with all speed to the front. The Boers have ambushed another armored train and killed or captured more than one hundred British soldiers. Severe fighting on a much larger scale may be expected at an early day. The Boers show no signs of drawing back before the large British forces arriving, but are pushing their commandos down the railway with a view of preventing relief from reaching Ladysmith.

In the Philippines the American forces are pushing their way farther north. There have been some small engagements with the native forces. The attempt to surround and capture Aguinaldo has failed. He is supposed to have fled over the mountains, but the American generals do not know where he is. A short and decisive campaign was expected which would end the "insurrection" in a short time, but the war seems likely to go on, in spite of the "hopefulness" of the administration. Nearly every day there are reports of lives lost, and disease is constantly doing its deadly work. The new regiments are rapidly reaching Manila and entering the campaign. At home the elections do not seem to have given any satisfactory indication as to the feeling of the country. They have been interpreted both ways, and with about equal justice. There were so many personal and local considerations entering into the campaigns in the different states that the question of imperialism had no controlling influence, unless perhaps in Ohio, where the combined vote for the Democratic and Independent candidates showed the state to be strongly opposed to the administration's policy. It now seems that the question must go over to the general election next year, both sides meanwhile showing no signs of relaxing their efforts.

Arbitration with Russia.

Eight years ago three American sealing vessels were seized off the coast of Siberia by Russian cruisers. This seizure gave rise to a controversy which has continued ever since. An agreement has now been entered into by the Russian Foreign Office and Mr. Charlemagne Tower, United States Ambassador at St. Petersburg, by which the dispute is to be referred to arbitration. There is to be but one arbitrator, the celebrated Dutch jurist, Dr. Asser, one of the prominent members of the Hague Peace Conference. The United States' claim for damages is only $150,000. The case is interesting as involving the question of the distance seaward to which a nation's territorial jurisdiction extends. Russia claims in this case a limit of seven miles as against the three mile limit which has hitherto prevailed. The three mile limit established at the beginning of last century was laid down because that was the range of cannon at that time. Russia seems to claim that the cannon range was the fundamental factor, and that the three mile limit was only secondary. She holds that the greatly increased range of modern cannon and the power which a nation thereby acquires of protecting her coast to a much greater distance naturally extends territorial control farther seaward. The question has been partly opened for some years, the United States at one time having asked for a seven mile limit off Cape Town, and Spain a six mile limit off the coast of Cuba. It is inevitable that a new decision be made on the subject, either by judgment in a special case or by treaty agreement.

Samoan Settlement.

An agreement has been reached by the governments of Great Britain and Germany in accordance with which Great Britain surrenders all her interests in Samoa. In return for this Great Britain gets the Tonga and Savage islands, all claims to which Germany renounces, and also two large islands in the Solomon group closely adjacent to the British islands there. In the partition of Samoa between the United States and Germany, the former is to have the eastern island of Tutuila, which contains the harbor of Pago Pago, already owned by the United States, and the adjacent islets. Germany receives the two islands Upolu and Savaii. The agreement between Great Britain and Germany stipulated that the division was subject to the acceptance of the United States. The arrangement is certain to be accepted, possibly with some slight modifications, by our government, and thus will end, we shall hope for all time, an important international controversy.

Alaskan Boundary.

A further stage has been reached in the consideration of the question of the Alaskan boundary. Following his proposal for a temporary adjustment, alluded to in our last issue, and now accepted by both countries, Sir Louis Davies, Canadian Minister of Marine, handed to Ambassador Choate in London a proposition for a permanent settlement. He proposes an arbitration similar to that by which the Venezuela boundary has been settled. Fifty years' occupancy by either side is to be considered conclusive evidence of title. Occupancy for less time than fifty years is to be treated according to the principles of equity under international law. Mr. Davies proposes to concede Skaguay and Dyea to the United States if Pyramid Harbor in turn be allowed to Canada. These concessions are to be a condition "absolutely precedent to arbitration." This proposition means that Canada would give up a large part of the territory which she has claimed in return for a seaport. But the matter of the seaport has been the core of the dispute. Great Britain claims that the seacoast meant in the treaty by which the United States acquired title to Alaska is the seaward shore of the outermost islands. The United States contention is that the coast is the mainland shore reached by tide-water. Great Britain's purpose in the whole contention and in these proposed concessions seems to be to get a port of entry free from United States control, where she could establish a commercial depot and a naval station. It is not likely that the matter can ever be settled without the arbitration of the whole question of the "coast." If the coast means what

Canada claims, then she ought not only to have Pyramid Harbor, but much more. Mr. Davies' proposition bears on its face evidence of the grave doubt of the Canadian government whether any arbitration board would decide in their favor. He seeks by concession what he is practically sure he would never get from arbitration.

No Faith in Fatalism.

No nobler words of political morality and wisdom were ever uttered than those spoken by Senator Hoar before the recent Unitarian National Conference at Washington:

"I have no faith in fatalism, in destiny, in blind force. I believe in God, the living God. I believe in the American people, a free and brave people, who do not bow the neck or bend the knee to any other, and who desire no other to bow the neck or bend the knee to them. I believe that the God who created this world has ordained that his children may work out their own salvation, and that his nations may work out their own salvation by obedience to his laws, without any dictation or coercion from any other. I believe that liberty, good government, free institutions, cannot be given by any one people to any other, but must be wrought out for each by itself, slowly, painfully, in the process of years or centuries, as the oak adds ring to ring. I believe that a republic is greater than an empire. I believe that the moral law and the golden rule are for nations as well as for individuals. I believe in George Washington, not in Napoleon Bonaparte; in the Whigs of the revolutionary day, not in the Tories; in Chatham, Burke and Sam Adams, not in Dr. Johnson or Lord North. I believe that the United States, when William McKinley was inaugurated, was a greater world power than Rome in the height of her glory, or even England with her 400,000,000 vassals. I believe, whatever clouds may darken the horizon, that the world is growing better; that to-day is better than yesterday, and to-morrow will be better than to-day."

Bottle-holder to Monarchy.

Prof. Goldwin Smith has expressed in the following paragraph his profound regret at the unparalleled change which has come over the spirit of the United States:

"It is announced that during the war with the Transvaal America will take charge of British interests at the Boer capital, and Mr. Chamberlain has returned thanks for this moral indorsement of his policy. Who could have dreamed that he would live to see the United States acting as a bottle-holder to the monarchy of George III. in its fight for the suppression of a republic? Had these events happened three or four years ago, we should have witnessed the most violent demostrations on the other side. A Boer ambassador would have been welcomed to the honors of Congress in disregard of international courtesy, as was Parnell when he was trying to dismember the United Kingdom. Honor was refused to the memory of John Bright, the stanchest and mightiest champion of the American cause in its hour of need, because he had upheld the integrity of the British Empire. But now the American republic has herself turned Imperialist, and is doing in her own empire what Great Britain is doing in the Transvaal. Such a moral revolution has few parallels in history. Yet it is not a change so much as a revelation of a change the seeds of which had long been sown."

A War Exposition.

Mr. John de Bloch whose great work on "The Future of War" has attracted such unusual attention, is preparing another astonishment for the world. In his efforts to show that war between great powers has become a practical impossibility, he proposes to make at his own expense a "War Exhibit" next year in Paris. The exhibit will consist of a collection of modern implements of war and in contrast therewith those of former times. The exhibit will be made in a large building three stories high, and will be one of the most noteworthy objects of the Paris Exposition. Mr. Bloch has been in Paris for some time making the arrangements for the exhibit, which will cost him more than a million francs. He is doing it all in the interests of peace. His building will contain a lecture-hall, where the subject in which he is so deeply interested will be expounded.

W. C. T. U. Convention.

The annual convention of the National W. C. T. U. held at Seattle toward the last of October was an unusually stirring one. The convention passed strong resolutions condemning the action of President McKinley and Attorney-General Griggs in regard to the anti-canteen law, and also condemning the war in the Philippines. The latter resolution, introduced by Mrs. H. J. Bailey, superintendent of the peace department, met with strong opposition, but after long discussion was carried triumphantly. The action of the convention in criticising the administration has been strongly censured, not only by members of the Union, but by the public press. The censure has been chiefly on the ground that the Union was going outside of its legitimate work, and would therefore mar it. But it must be remembered that the W. C. T. U. has taken up many different lines of humanitarian work, and that these are now as much a legitimate part of its field of labor as temperance itself. Some of these lines, most of them in fact, were taken up because it was found impossible to promote the abolition of the drink traffic without striking at other evils by which intemperance is so powerfully supported. The women were, therefore, perfectly within their province when they took up the subject of the Philippine war and passed a resolution strongly condemning it. They were doubly so, if we take into account the awful curse which the war has proved in introducing the extensive sale of intoxicating liquors into Manila, and thus bringing about the degradation of the native peoples already following from it and sure to follow more dreadfully in the future. The course

which the women of the Union took at Seattle will not only not weaken confidence in their wisdom, as the Seattle papers declare, but will powerfully strengthen confidence in their cause among those citizens who really furnish them support and encouragement. The people, as a rule, who think that they are hurting their cause are people who have no real desire to see their temperance work a success, but would be glad to see it all fall through.

Race and Civil War.

Hon. James Bryce, M. P., in a letter to his constituents of Aberdeen, Scotland, speaks as follows on the character and probable results of the war in South Africa:

"The third point is the result to be expected from a war in South Africa. It will be a race war, and practically a civil war. Those who have lived together in the two colonies as friends and neighbors — many of them connected by family ties — will be severed into two hostile camps, and some at least (no one can tell how many) of our colonial fellow-subjects of Dutch stock will be in arms against their British fellow-subjects. When the Transvaal and the Free State have been conquered, those who have fallen fighting for the republics will be remembered as heroes by the South African Dutch. A bitter and undying resentment against the English will replace that loyalty and contentment which have been the surest foundation of British power. We shall for many years have a colony to deal with half of whose population will be hostile and disaffected. We are told that race feeling is already so bitter that it cannot be worse. A terrible mistake! — a mistake which those who recall the evil wrought by the execution of five Dutchmen at Slagter's Nek in 1815 will hardly share. That act was one of the chief causes which produced the disaffection that culminated in the great trek of 1836, and all the troubles that have followed since. The memory of bloodshed and of a war held to be unjust will fill an exceptionally tenacious race with a hatred far deeper and more lasting than the irritation which now exists — a hatred which may one day cost us our hold on South Africa. We can, of course, conquer the Transvaal and the Free State — it is merely a question of time and money; can, if we like, turn them into crown colonies, and hold them by garrisons. It is after the conquest that the real difficulties will begin.

"I returned from South Africa convinced that what would best secure both its welfare and the imperial future of Britain in the southern hemisphere was to avoid all occasion of racial strife; and I said in the book already mentioned that what was needed to bring about a reconcilement and a fusion of the races was 'tact, coolness, and patience — above all, patience.' It is in the interest of Britain and the cohesion of our colonial empire, no less than in the interests of South Africa and of peace, that I deplore the war upon which we seem to be entering, and for which no sufficient cause has yet been shown."

International Law Association.

The American members of the special committee of the International Law Association appointed at the recent Buffalo Conference to study in detail and report to the Conference at Rouen next year on the conventions adopted by the Hague Conference met in New York on the ninth of November. Five of the eight American members were present; namely, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, who was made chairman, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler of New York, Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey of Yale, Rev. Charles A. Stoddard, D. D., editor of the New York *Observer*, and Benjamin F. Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society. The members absent were Mr. Cephas Brainerd of New York, Pres. Henry Wade Rogers of Evanston, Ill., and Prof. Henry St. George Tucker of Lexington, Va. A resolution was passed expressing approval of the Hague arbitration and mediation convention as presenting "a practicable working scheme, well adapted to the end in view and capable of successful execution," and also one "respectfully urging the Senate of the United States to ratify said convention." Three sub-committees were appointed to study in detail the three Hague conventions and report their judgment as to any changes which it might be desirable for the signatory powers to make in them.

Armed Men an Obstacle.

In a strong address on "True Imperialism and Expansion," before the recent Massachusetts Christian Endeavor Convention, Rev. W. G. Puddefoot spoke in strong condemnation of the false imperialism of the day. He said that, "To-day we find so-called Christian Europe spending a thousand millions a year for war, and our own nation, the least guilty of bloodshedding, apparently willing to emulate their examples. 'All power is given unto me in heaven and earth,' said Jesus. 'Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations.' Now, after nineteen centuries have nearly passed, we have the spectacle of a thousand millions of helpless heathen, and five hundred millions of professed followers of the Prince of Peace armed from top to toe and ready to disobey every command of Christ at a moment's notice! Beginning at Jerusalem and following Mahomet! There is no greater obstacle to the spread of the gospel to-day than the millions of armed men who are hired to kill other men whom they never saw and could not possibly hate, except they were aroused by wicked prejudice by the rulers of this world. I know that there are more killed and wounded by peaceful pursuits and the unsanitary conditions of civilized life than war causes. But the conditions exist largely on account of war. What would the thousand millions do toward cleaning cities and used in doing good? But it is this awful cost of armies that stops the way. When shall

the missionaries be able to secure the millions and go forth to save as the sons of Mars are able to go forth and kill and slaughter?"

Spencer's Opinion of War.

Herbert Spencer, in 1896, when the question of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was being warmly discussed, wrote the following opinion of future wars:

"But though, along with detestation of the cruelties and bloodshed and brutalization accompanying war, we must recognize these incidental benefits, bequeathed by it heretofore, we are shown that henceforth there can arise no such ultimate good to be set against its enormous evils. Powerful types of men now possess the world; great aggregates of them have been consolidated; societies have been organized, and throughout the future the conflicts of nations, entailing on a larger scale than ever before death, devastation and misery, can yield to posterity no compensating advantages. Henceforth social progress is to be achieved, not by systems of education, not by the preaching of this or that religion, not by the insistence on a humane creed daily disregarded, but by cessation from those antagonisms which keep alive the brutal element in human nature, and by persistence in a peaceful life which gives unchecked play to the sympathies. In sundry places and in various ways I have sought to show that advance to higher forms of man and society essentially depends on the decline of militancy and the growth of industrialism. This I hold to be a political truth in comparison with which all other political truths are insignificant. I need scarcely add that, such being my belief, I rejoice over the taking of any step which directly diminishes the probability of war, and indirectly opens the way to further such steps."

Military Corruption.

In a sermon recently preached in Brooklyn, Rev. John W. Chadwick speaks thus of the rottenness, individual and political, to which militarism tends:

"But for the rest read Kipling's 'Barrack-room Ballads' and his stories dealing with like situations. Kipling, we hear, is England's martial laureate. 'There is no one else that sings the praise of war so well as he.' Then so much the worse for war. If Tommy Atkins is the typical British soldier, I do not know how war can be subjected to a more fearful accusation than by his character and condition. It may, however, be said that it is not war but militarism — a chronic state of military preparation — that makes Tommy Atkins what he is. And this is true enough. Things worse than Tommy Atkins come of that. See France for proof of this. The French Republic has the army at its throat, – an army given over to corruption, and, in order to maintain itself, plunging ever deeper into a slough of miserable falsehood and intrigue. Frenchmen are nothing if not brave; but where will you find a set of baser cowards than the general staff of the French army, who, even if they would, dared not do justice to poor Dreyfus, lest the whole rotten fabric of their military system should come down about their ears. History teaches nothing if it does not teach that militarism tends to political corruption. Even in America, where as yet militarism has not been much developed, we have seen things in the green tree which in the dry would be intolerable rottenness. The bias of an elaborate military system upon our politics would be such that old men fifty years hence would talk together of the good old times of Tammany Hall and the Philadelphia and Cincinnati rings, when everybody was virtuous and happy."

The Nobel Bequest.

The Norwegian Parliament, to which the management of the Alfred Nobel bequest was entrusted, has finally completed its plan for the distribution of the five prizes. Five "institutes" have been founded, whose business it shall be to see that the persons competing shall be properly qualified by reason of some important service rendered. The subjects named by Mr. Nobel are physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and work for international peace. The first distribution of the prizes will take place on the 10th of December, 1901, and thereafter the distribution will occur annually on the same date. The "institute" awarding the prize for peace work for the preceding year will have the power to give it to an individual or an association. The value of the prize annually will be from $50,000 to $80,000, or a small fortune. If the leading peace workers and peace associations can only manage their competition so as to have this magnificent prize go to one after another in succession, there will be enough in time to make them all rich. This will not be exactly peace-at-any-price, but it will certainly be peace-at-a-big-price.

Helping the Doukhobors.

The Friends of Philadelphia continue their efforts in behalf of the recently arrived Doukhobors in Canada, who have need of much assistance in order to get well through the winter already set in. A public meeting was held in their behalf in Philadelphia on the fifth of October. After this meeting committees of the Friends were appointed in different sections of Philadelphia and vicinity to solicit aid. A circular was sent out to all the families of the Friends. Responses were generous, and soon more than six thousand dollars was received. Besides cash contributions, a carload (twenty-one tons) of blankets, yarn, medicines, clothing, soap, hardware, flour, meal and groceries was collected, and forwarded to Winnipeg on October 26. The contents of the car had been carefully assorted, and put up in 751 packages. The next day after the public meeting, a telegram was forwarded to Commissioner McCreary at Winnipeg, authorizing him to purchase and distribute a carload each of potatoes and onions. Afterwards he was authorized to purchase another carload of potatoes. Previously $3,500 had been spent, through

Peter and Cornelius Jansen, Russian Mennonites residing in Nebraska, in purchasing cows, oxen, wagons, harness, horses, medicine and linseed oil for the Doukhobors. How like the deeds of heaven these acts seem when set in contrast to the horrible and degrading and desolating butcheries which human selfishness and ambition are committing in other parts of the world! Verily, verily, peace hath her victories a thousandfold more renowned than those of war! It is by such sufferings as those which the Doukhobors have undergone because of their peace principles, and by such deeds of loving service as these Friends have wrought because of their peace principles, that the real and lasting civilization of the world is being worked out.

Japan's War Burdens

Christian Work, discussing the effects upon Japan of her war with China, has the following very pertinent observations:

"In these days, when such terms as arbitration and peace are so much in the air, it is well to note the fact that candid Japanese are coming to realize and, further, to admit that the glorious war of their country with China has its shadowy side. On the financial side Japan is certainly worse off than before the war. All of her indemnity is already spent on increased armament, and a large loan in addition has been placed abroad in order to carry out the ambitious military plans conceived in the intoxication of victory. All this means increased taxation and crippled industries. In fact, several Japanese commercial undertakings have fallen into such embarrassment that the government has had to give them temporary assistance in order to prevent a financial crisis. The only other visible result of the war — Formosa — is almost as much of a white elephant on Japan's hands as the Philippines are on ours. As for having anything to say on the mainland, or taking any part in the partition of China, Japan sees herself as much shut out as if she had never sunk a Chinese ship or stormed a Chinese fortress."

Dr. Patton's Prophecy.

Pres. F. L. Patton, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton University, at the inauguration of Dr. Faunce as president of Brown University, said:

"The bearing of the university upon the nation's moral ideals is very marked, very definite. I do not say that we have never done wrong as a people; I do not say that Great Britain never did anything wrong as a people,— but I do say that if these two Anglo-Saxon peoples do not habitually realize the right and are not governed by high moral motives, then there are no nations in the world that can be actuated by those motives. The time has not come, but it will come,—and that so many are praying and hoping and expecting is proof of the underlying moral power of the people,—when international difficulties will be settled by arbitration. The time has not come, but I trust that it may come, when there will be a proper realization of the relation the individual sustains toward other individuals that will keep us from unduly exalting the individual at the expense of the great doctrine of self-sacrifice, or from exalting the doctrine of self-sacrifice at the expense of the individual."

Secretary in Cuba.

Because of the absence of Secretary Trueblood for a month in Cuba, the January number of THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE will likely be delayed a week or more. He goes to Cuba to make investigation in regard to a missionary and educational work which the Friends of the United States expect soon to inaugurate in the island, and also to make a personal study of the existing conditions there in their general bearing upon the question of peace and good-feeling between the inhabitants of Cuba and our own country. The readers of the ADVOCATE will doubtless have the opportunity hereafter of seeing in its columns some of the impressions which the secretary will bring back with him.

Brevities.

. . . Up to the first of November the total losses of the United States forces in the Philippines were 2,855, and the amount of territory actually held was 117 square miles. The territory acquired was won at a cost of about 25 dead and wounded for every square mile.

. . . The opening article in the *Woman's Home Companion* (Springfield, Ohio), for November, entitled "When Queen Victoria saved America from War," brings to light interesting facts about an almost forgotten international episode.

. . . A convention was signed at Washington, on November 7, providing for the adjustment by arbitration of claims of inhabitants of Samoa for damages resulting from the naval and military operations last spring.

. . . The Ninth Universal Peace Congress will be held at Paris in 1900 on the Exposition grounds. The Committee of the Exposition have granted the use of the Congress building from the first to the fifth of October.

. . . The delegates to the Hague Conference from Germany, Austria and Italy, who declined to sign the conventions until they had further consulted their governments, have been authorized to sign them. This carries the number of signatory powers up to eighteen, leaving but six independent states which have not yet signed.

. . . A recent despatch states that the governments of the Argentine Republic and Paraguay have signed a general arbitration treaty. If this is true, Argentina is now a party to two such treaties.

. . . The Women's International Disarmament League of Paris has issued another appeal to the women of all countries, giving a review of the work hitherto accomplished by the League, and asking for the coöperation of women everywhere in the disarmament propaganda.

. . . Mr. John de Bloch, while in Berlin recently, expressed the opinion that the Transvaal war might likely have been avoided if the permanent court of arbitration had already been in operation.

. . . Before the war in South Africa broke out, William T. Stead began the publication of a sheet entitled *War against War in South Africa*. He was strongly opposed to the course of the Colonial Secretary, which brought on the war.

. . . Late reports indicate that Japan is gaining a strong hold in Korea, that Japanese troops are being smuggled in as coolies, and that in consequence there is considerable tension between Japan and Russia.

. . . The Cuban school teachers have drawn up a protest against the appointment of Professor Frye of Boston as superintendent of schools for Cuba. They desire a Cuban as superintendent instead of a foreigner.

. . . Sir Julian, now Lord, Pauncefote returned to his post at Washington on November 8. He has been very much touched by the many kind notices in the American press on the subject of his elevation to the peerage because of his eminent services at the Hague Conference, and has made cordial public acknowledgment.

. . . Secretary Hay has asked the powers who have "spheres of influence" in China to give assurances to this government that the "open door" will be maintained. It is understood that Great Britain and Japan are both favorable, and he expects written assurances in reply to his request from all the powers interested.

. . . The Czar of Russia has visited the Emperor of Germany at Potsdam. The reception of the Czar was very enthusiastic. The two emperors walked together for half an hour in the Sans Souci park. Emperor William gave Count Muravieff, Russian Foreign Minister, an audience of half an hour. The significance of this meeting of Czar and Kaiser has been much guessed at.

. . . Read Senator Hoar's great paper on the Philippine question in the *Independent* for November 9.

. . . Everybody who is trying to comprehend the significance of the Hague Peace Conference ought to read carefully the two able papers on the subject in the November *North American Review*, the one by Professor de Martens, the other by President Seth Low, both of whom were prominent in the Conference.

. . . The Government of Guatemala has accepted the proposition of the United States to adjust by arbitration the claim of Mr. May, of Tennessee, aggregating about $125,000, for damages through the action of the Guatemalan government in wrongfully depriving him, as he alleges, of a railroad concession.

. . . Fifty-four thousand names, among which were those of many prominent people, were secured in England in a fortnight to a memorial against war in South Africa, a memorial which in substance pronounced the war a blunder and a crime of the first magnitude.

. . . Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? War is an instrument entirely inefficient toward redressing wrong. — *Thomas Jefferson.*

War Disenchanted.

REVISED AND ENLARGED BY E. P. MARVIN.

War is the business of barbarians. — *Napoleon Bonaparte.*
I hate war. — *U. S. Grant.*
War is hell. — *W. T. Sherman.*

A gallant form is passing by,
The plume bends o'er his lordly brow;
A thousand tongues have raised on high
His song of triumph now.
Young knees are bending round his way,
And age makes bare his locks of gray.

Fair forms have lent their gladdest smiles,
White hands have waved the conqueror on,
And flowers have decked his path the while,
By gentle fingers strewn.
Soft tones have cheered him, and the brow
Of beauty beams uncovered now.

The bard hath waked the song for him,
And poured his wildest numbers forth;
The winecup, sparkling to the brim,
Adds frenzy to the mirth;
And every tongue and every eye
Does homage to the passer by.

The cannon thunder strikes the ear,
And martial strains their witchery lend;
'Neath battle flag "The Men of Peace"
Their benediction lend
To Pagod things of saber sway,
With fronts of brass and feet of clay.

The gallant steed treads proudly on;
His foot falls firmly now as when
In strife that iron heel went down
Upon the hearts of men;
Unmindful all, mid shouts and cheers,
Of manhood's blood and woman's tears.

The warrior's stormy voice is heard
To lead the charge with wrathful mien;
And brothers join in carnage dread,
Till darkness shrouds the scene,
'Mid oaths and groans and cries to God,
And garments rolled in vital blood.

Dream they of these — the glad and gay,
That bend around the conqueror's path,
The horrors of the conflict day,
The gloomy field of death,
The ghastly slain, the severed head,
The mourners weeping o'er the dead?

Dark thoughts and fearful! yet they bring
No terrors to the triumph hour,
Nor stay the reckless worshipping
Of blended crime and power:
The fair of form, the mild of mood
Do honor to the man of blood.

Men — Christians, pause! the air ye breathe
Is poisoned by your idol now;
And will ye turn to him and wreathe
Your chaplets round his brow?
Nay, call his darkest deeds sublime,
And smile assent to giant crime?

Great King of Peace, whom we adore,
Look down with pity from above!
Oh, lift the awful curse of war,
And reign in peace and love!
Oh, come, Lord Jesus, quickly come,
Erect thy Kingdom and thy Throne!

A Young Man's Vision.

BY CHARLES W. STUBBS, D.D., DEAN OF ELY.

Preached at The Hague, Sunday, May 21, 1899.

"And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions."—JOEL 2:28.

These words of the Prophet Joel had their fullest accomplishment, as you all know, in that new Revelation of God to the world, symbolized in the rushing wind and the fiery tongues of Pentecost, which we to-day are commemorating on this Whitsunday, on this great church festival of the Holy Ghost. But the prophetic words have also had a special fulfilment — have been fulfilled from epoch to epoch in the history of the church of God.

In the ancient church they found an immediate realization. For almost within the generation in which Joel lived, we see the simultaneous rise of prophets of all degrees of cultivation, and from every station in life. Amos, the sheep-master of Tekoa, the gatherer of figs, the prophet of simple style and rustic imagery; Zechariah, the cultured priest and gentle, courtly seer; Micah, the wild village anchorite, pouring out his terrible warnings on the drunkenness, the folly, the oppression of his country, and yet telling also of a reign of universal peace when men shall "beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks"; and, greatest of all, Isaiah, the statesman-prophet of Israel, of great and faithful vision, "very bold," as St. Paul says of him, in extending and enlarging the boundaries of the church, looking beyond the dark and stormy present to the onward destiny of the human race, when God "shall be found of them that seek him not, and made manifest unto them that ask not of him." These are but a few. There are many prophets of that period whose very names are lost. Some, no doubt, were wild enthusiasts only, whose ravings did perhaps as much harm as good. Some were hypocrites, who "affected the black prophetic dress without any portion of the prophetic spirit." But all were characteristic of one of those great revivals of religion, one of those spiritual flood-tides in the history of humanity, which have, alas! their baser as well as their nobler aspect.

But Joel did more than utter a special prediction for his own time. He declared one of those great principles which, as I have said, are fulfilled over and over again, and play so large a part in human history. The principle is this: that ever and anon, in a nation's or a church's history, after some great national calamity, after some long-continued ecclesiastical torpor, there comes a sudden and mighty out-flood of the Spirit, stirring a nation or a people to its depths, vivifying an almost dead church, rousing dull spirits into energetic life, exalting common men and women above their ordinary selves. On every side at such periods in the world's history there arise prophets and heroes, warriors and preachers, holy and devoted souls.

Five centuries after Joel, when Israel was a conquered and tributary people, its kings no more, its national and church life crushed down, there came such a flood-tide of the Holy Spirit of God, which is the spirit of holy valor, and patriotism, and national righteousness. You may read the whole grand story in the Book of Maccabees. It was a time when the tameness and commonness went out of life for all men. New hopes and aims, new daring and strength seemed to pass into every heart. Men and women, in their daily task, lived not only for that, but for their country and their God. Old men dreamed dreams, and young men saw visions, and upon the servants and the handmaids was poured out the new spirit of faithfulness and truth.

Two centuries later the principle was at work again on a vaster scale. The old world was waiting for a new birth. Old religions, old philosophies, old political systems, all seemed to have reached a stage of decrepitude. The power of imperial Rome, the traditional wisdom of Greece, the narrow national cult of the Hebrew — all seemed to be worn out. The last element of good seemed to have gone, for hope was dead. The world seemed to have reached

> "That last dread mood
> Of envious sloth and proud decrepitude;
> No faith, no ark, no king, no priest, no God,
> While round the freezing founts of life in snarling ring
> Crouched on the bare worn sod,
> Babbling about the unreturning spring,
> And whining for dead gods that cannot save,
> The toothless systems shiver to their grave."

But when the hour was darkest there came the new birth, the founding of the Christian Church, the preaching of the apostles, the fervor of the martyrs, the wonders of the first Christian age. St. Peter saw the fulfilment of the Prophet Joel's words in their fullest sense on the first Whitsunday. The chill and gloom of the crucifixion day had passed. The little church of the first believers had awakened to a sense of its mighty mission, and every member of it felt the glow of inspiration in his earnest heart. And ever since that time, nearly two thousand years ago now, men have been living under what is called a new dispensation, a new order of things. Ever since that time when the last great crowning revelation of God was made to man, there has been in the world a society of men who looked out upon life in a new way. They looked out upon this matter-of-fact world of ours, and somehow they came to see that it was not only what it appeared to be from outside; they came to see that life, human life, had not only to do with outward things; that they, as men, had not only to obey certain laws of conduct and living, under penalty of punishment from the governor, or the king, or the emperor, whose subjects they were,—but they came to see that they were members also of a great invisible kingdom, ruled over by a Lord whose throne was not upon earth, governed by laws whose sanction rested not in outward things, in penalty or punishment, but lay in a divine compulsion which they felt in their own hearts, in their own inmost spirit, in a conscience, they called it, not a mere outward authority, saying to them at every turn, "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," but an inner voice of the soul ever whispering, "I ought," and "I ought not."

And this new way of regarding life these men came to think was the most important thing in all the world. They gave up everything, they left their secular callings, their business in life, to go abroad everywhere telling people of this new, wonderful way of regarding things. They could not help it. A mysterious divine compulsion

was laid upon them. It burnt in their hearts as a divine energy; it touched their tongues with a divine fire.

If we could have asked them what it all meant, they would have said, "It is the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire,— it is that enthusiasm, that influence, that energy, which our ascended king promised he would send down upon us, his own Spirit, the Paraclete, the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth who should guide us into all truth."

And full of this divine compulsion, and because of it, they were able to touch the hearts of other men: they got them to see life as they saw it, to obey the invisible king, as they obeyed him, from love and loyalty of heart; they drew men into their brotherhood, into this society of the Holy Ghost, this spiritual kingdom, this church of the new believers, of the men who thought about life in a new way.

And now nearly two thousand years, as I said, have passed away, and to-day that little society of earnest believers in that far distant land has become a mighty corporation, having branches in all parts of the world, with a long history behind it, a record of heroes, and saints and martyrs, and doctors and teachers, the holiest and the noblest of our race, and with a long future before it of beneficence and salvation for the world.

And in that long history, over and over again as the ages went on, the words of the prophet Joel have been fulfilled. For although, alas! it is true that over and over again also the vision has faded and the prophecy has disappointed; that at times even the church itself has only seemed to be Christian to its own shame and to its Master's dishonor — "*Christiana ad contumeliam Christi*"; that the new heavens and the new earth have never yet fully come; — still, still, thank God, there has been progress — who can deny it? — progress by periodic movements, flood-tides of the Spirit of God, on which the ark of humanity and civilization and social order, the ark of the church has ridden nearer and nearer to the haven where it would be.

> "For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent, flooding in, the main.
> And not by eastern windows only,
> When daylight comes, comes in the light,
> In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!
> But westward, look, the land is bright."

For "when Christ ascended up on high, he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men"; for the individual the gift of true life, for society the gift of prophecy and vision and of dreams. "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."

The gift of prophecy: the power to recognize new truth from God and to speak it forth, to interpret it to mankind in words of fire or deeds of light.

The gift of vision: the strong, clear grasp of master ideas, the keen, living sense which a young and generous mind feels for great principles struggling perhaps for life in some mean age of scrambling and selfishness and greed; setting the heart strong and resolute to uphold the cause of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost through the coming years.

And the gift of dream: no longer the fantastic vision of minds half-dazed with new light, but the conviction of the old man's dearly bought experience, that what perhaps he may be unworthy to see or bring to pass shall yet surely come, shall yet be a common thing full of blessing for the world; and while his own hopes of seeing it depart, yet suffers not his heart to harden, but passes solemnly in spirit into another age, and sees God surely bringing life to its perfect end at last.

It would be impossible, of course, in a single sermon to characterize fully any one of those great epochal movements in the history of Christian civilization which has made modern Christendom what it is to-day. And even if I ask you to think only of one aspect of that civilization, the origin and growth of sentiments of International Morality and Law,— a subject which must be in all our minds at this time, in this place, on this historic soil,— it is impossible to do more now than place a cursory finger from point to point on that marvelously diversified chart which shows the onward progress of humanity towards higher and nobler and more Christlike conceptions of statecraft and government.

1. It has been said that when Charles the Great knelt by the high altar of St. Peter's, at Rome, and received from the hand of Pope Leo III. the crown of the Cæsars, and the shout of the people rang out through the church, "*Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatori vita et victoria*" (To Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving Emperor, life and victory), modern history began. Certainly with him began a new vision of power in Europe, new in reality, new in its relations to society. For the first time since the fall of the Roman empire in the West, a great king had arisen among the new nations to rule with strength and glory, a founder of social order, a restorer of religion, a patron of education, a statesman, a legislator, an emperor, as the popular acclaim had entitled him, truly "great and peace-giving," because his aim was not only to conquer and overthrow and selfishly to enjoy, but to labor long and resolutely, and with deliberate purpose, to bring order out of chaos, government out of confusion, for the benefit of man and the good of the peoples. It is true that his romantic reign of nearly fifty years was but an episode of political order and statesmanship in a wild and tumultuous age, but the work of Charles — a genius preëminently creative — was not lost in the anarchy which followed, for he had laid the foundations upon which, for many generations, men continued to build. His policy and deeds were gradually wreathed round with a gorgeous mist of legend and romance, but at least he left behind a memory and a tradition of a settled government and of a noble and extensive scheme of polity, an ideal of imperial duty and obligation, to which his successors in a later age could look back with a devout admiration. For so wisdom is justified of all her children, and God fulfils Himself in many ways.

2. And again, in that later time of turbulence and political confusion, through all the disasters of private war and public feud which characterized the peoples of Europe from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, who shall say that the old prophecy of Joel, the newer promises of Pentecost, had no fulfilment? Into "that wilderness of the peoples" the church of Christ had gone

forth, and had proved herself "not only a herald of spiritual blessings and of glorious hopes in another life, but a tamer of cruel natures, the civilizer of the rude, the cultivator of the waste places, the educator, the guide and the protector" of the weak and oppressed. When little else could be done, was it nothing, do you think, that the church organized "the Truce of God"?

"From Thursday evening among all Christians"— so ran the words of an ordinance of the Council of Limoges in 1031 — "friends or enemies, neighbors or distant, peace must reign till Monday at sunrise; and during these four days and four nights there ought to exist a complete security, so that everyone can go about his own affairs in safety from all fear of his enemies, and under protection of this truce and this peace. Let those who observe this peace be absolved by the Father all-powerful, by Jesus Christ His Son, and by the Holy Ghost. Let those who have promised truce and have voluntarily broken it be excommunicated by God." There are many sad chapters, it is true, in the history of Christendom humiliating to the disciple of Christ, but surely that chapter in the "Gesta Christi" of the Middle Ages is at least a touching one, which although it tells first of desolated towns, depopulated villages, wasted fields, plundered peasants, widows and orphans weeping under the curse of war, yet goes on to speak of that "Crusade of Peace" preached by the church for two centuries or more, made the subject of conciliar and synodical and episcopal enactment, quieting, if only for a time, the waves of strife, inspiring men with a new spirit of goodwill and concord and brotherhood, under which it might be for months, or weeks only, or days, the bloody sword was suffered to rest in its sheath, the homes of the poor to go unplundered, and the unwonted "Peace of God" to fall upon a land drenched with tears and blood.

3. It was not, however, until the fifteenth century was passed, and the various communities of Europe — each retaining characteristics of its original source, but each also taking to itself, with the assertion of individual freedom, new characteristics — had finally separated by definite national signs into free and liberal states, that the foundation was laid of the modern system of international policy. The adoption of standing armies, although they may seem to have created new dangers for our modern industrialism, it must never be forgotten, disarmed war of half its terror. But the need of some recognized code of law to regulate the intercourse of the new nations became pressing. In 1625 the groundwork of such a code was laid by Grotius, Advocate-General of the Treasury of Holland and Pensionary of Rotterdam, in his treatise "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*," a work which has been said by jurists to have contributed more than any other uninspired book to the commonwealth of nations. And indeed, in memory of the Pentecostal promise, ought we to speak of the book as uninspired?

It is true that such a code as that of Grotius could not have arisen in any country where the jurisprudence of ancient Rome had not been the fountain of all legal ideas and the groundwork of all positive codes, nor could it have been written by any man who was not a learned student of that ancient system. But Hugo Grotius was not only a student of Roman jurisprudence; he was something higher and better. He had been a great Christian poet before he became a great Christian publicist. I venture, therefore, to say that it was because in his youth he had seen poetic visions of the ideal truths of Christianity, that in his old age he dreamt wise dreams of the true relations which should bind together the nations of Christendom, and saw clearly how necessary to the maintenance of the social state is the recognition of the sphere of spiritual as well as of temporal government. Certainly his immortal work is permeated, every line of it, in every chapter and in every section with the Christian spirit. In the first words of his preface he touches the keynote of all Christian progress through comradeship and association when he says: "The Sacred History doth not a little provoke us to mutual love by teaching that we are all of us born of the same first parents." And in the last chapter of his book he strikes once again the true chord of Christian fellowship as he recalls to the memory the parting benediction of the great Master in the memorable words with which he closes: "A safe and honored peace is not too dearly bought if it may be had by foregoing as well the offending as the charges and damages of war, especially to us Christians, to whom our great Lord and Master hath bequeathed peace as His last legacy. . . . . God, who alone can do it, instil these things into the hearts of those who manage the affairs of Christendom!"

4. Once more, and lastly, for I must hurry to a conclusion, can we doubt that in our own age the Pentecostal prophecy has been and is being fulfilled? Have we no young men nowadays who see visions, no old men who dream dreams, which it will be good for the world to see realized, even in part, of that divine order in which "God shall fulfil Himself," not only "in many ways," but in the one way of perfectness —

> "When shall all men's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
> Through all the circle of the golden year?"

English churchmen, at any rate, cannot certainly at this time forget the example of one great English statesman whose body, just a year ago at Whitsuntide, they were burying in Westminster Abbey "with a nation's lamentation," whose splendid political achievements have left an indelible mark on English statesmanship and on English citizenship, whose voice in the plenitude of his power and strength had ever been raised, not only for what he thought the good of his own countrymen, but for the deliverance of the oppressed and downtrodden peoples in any part of Christendom, and whose example of Christian fortitude and patience at the last taught lessons to the English people concerning the reality of religion and the power of prayer in daily life more potent for the inspiration and ennoblement of national life than all the splendid achievement of the strenuous years that lay behind. And when we recall these things, we cannot forget that it was also to Mr. Gladstone that we owe the Geneva Arbitration of 1872, an event by which two great nations, at a time of great bitterness of popular feeling, and when one side felt itself deeply injured, under circumstances which in all past history would have been thought to justify a declaration of war, deliberately controlled their passion of resentment, and determined to

submit their differences to impartial arbitration, a decision which in its issue has not only largely contributed to the happy brotherly relationship of England and America to-day, but has also thus enabled the modern world to take probably the greatest step forward in history towards the application of right reason and Christian wisdom to the settlement of international disputes. Nor can we forget many another occasion in which that great Englishman seemed to be taking a prophet's stand, looking forth on the nations, reading the secret causes which make them living or dying, and then, "looking beyond the results of the moment" in the sure conviction of his long and dearly bought experience, dreamt the old man's dreams, among others — can we doubt it? — of the golden year of international peace, "satisfied"—I quote his own words —"that though to-day may not see it and to-morrow may not see it, yet the fruits of patience and perseverance will be reaped in the long future of the nation's existence, when the reckoning cannot fail."

And, my friends, if, happily synchronizing with the holy memories of Whitsuntide, the commemoration this week by English churchmen of their great statesman's death-day a year ago takes us back in thought to an old man's prophetic dream, certainly the great event of this week in this place, to be held by history — God grant it — as a perpetual memory of blessing to all civilized peoples, speaks in unmistakable tones of a young man's vision. Can there be any Christian in this place to-day, who, recalling the ancient Pentecostal prophecy and promise of which I have spoken to you, would wish to think that these last words of the young Czar's rescript are anything but an inspiration and a prayer, sincerely responsive to the leading, piously pleading for the guidance of God's Holy Spirit of wisdom, peace and love?

"This Conference shall be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge in one powerful focus the efforts of all the states which are sincerely seeking to make the great conception of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord. It would at the same time cement their agreement by a corporate consecration of the principles of equity and right on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples."

What is it that blocks the way — do we ask? — to this land of Utopia, to the present earthly realization of the young man's vision, the old man's dream? I can only answer, the mountains of difficulty, which some tell us stand in the way, are moral difficulties for the most part, faults of character and will, failure of moral courage and purpose — in a word, want of faith. And yet, if we be Christians, we cannot, we must not, lose heart. The mountains of difficulty may be there. We cannot deny it. They do block the way to the promised land. But we walk by faith, not by sight. It was a saying of the great Napoleon, looking out from France on the neighboring country of Spain: "There are no more Pyrenees!" The power of the human will, the vaulting ambition of one man was — so he thought — sufficient to remove this greatest of natural boundaries. My friends, do we forget the promise of Him who said that by faith we too should remove mountains? Mountains of difficulty, mountains of misunderstanding, mountains of prejudice, will only vanish before the courage which despises difficulty, before the insight which sees into the heart of stone, before the love which compels confidence. Ah yes! the true Christian faith is like that fabled sword of which one reads in the Song of Roland, by which that renowned Paladin cleft a way for his army through those same Pyrenees mountains to the open land beyond. Such a breach of Roland, doubt it not, will one day be made through the mountain walls of national jealousy and national pride and national prejudice, and open out a way to the land of international peace.

May God of his great mercy send into the hearts of each member of this Peace Congress his great gift of vision! Let us pray for them; and what words could we better use than those in which for so many generations the Church of Christ has yearly sung her Advent antiphon of preparation for the Christmas message of peace on earth, goodwill to men:

"*O Sapientia! quæ ex ore Altissimi prodiisti, attingens a fine atque ad finem; fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia: veni ad docendum eos viam Prudentiæ!*"

The Redemptive Power of Love.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

From the "Coming Age."

"God is love."—1 JOHN 4:8.

"Love is the fulfilling of the law."—*Paul*, ROM. 13:10.

"Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace."
—*Whittier.*

I.

Far back, in ages more savage, barbarous and unreasoning than the present, we find great prophet souls who caught luminous glimpses of the redemptive power of love — lofty natures who, in exalted moments, discerned that love and hate were at the zenith and nadir of human development. These were sneered at in their day. Even the great Galilean, who struck the keynote of enduring progress when he enunciated the Golden Rule, was scorned, slandered and crucified.

By the easy-going, self-loving conservatives, who with pharisaical pretensions made long prayers and posed as the upholders of law and order while they devoured widows' houses, Jesus was either dismissed with such terms of contempt as "wine-bibber," "friend of publicans and sinners," or openly assailed as seeking to overthrow law, order and religion. The primitive Christians who taught the new commandment of loving one's enemies suffered as malefactors, and no methods of torture were too brutal to be meted out to them.

Socrates, with brain teeming with ennobling ideals and elevating thoughts, found the hemlock pressed to his lips by those who claimed to be the defenders of law and religion. Epictetus, poor and maimed in body, was banished by Domitian, so great a menace was such a love-radiating, gentle and spiritually-minded person to an emperor who dwelt in an atmosphere of hate, suspicion and sensualism. It was Epictetus who observed that "nothing is nobler than high-mindedness, gentleness and philanthropy, and doing good."

The rise of man is marked by the supremacy of love over hate, of the spiritual over the animal. Domitian, who was the incarnation of hate and animalism, could

not tolerate the radiance of a soul so charged with lofty love as Epictetus. He was like the ancient Cretan who, after dwelling for thirty years in a dark cave, was one day dragged into the radiant, health-giving sunlight, when he screamed aloud that the sun's rays poisoned him.

I remember when at college a friend of mine related a little instance which occurred in his own life. He was sitting one dark day at the bedside of his dying child. Suddenly the little sufferer exclaimed, "Oh, father, we are down in the cellar; how dark and cold it is! Let us go up into the beautiful sunlight." And in a moment, without heeding the tender words which gushed from a breaking heart, it stretched out its little arms, exclaiming, "Now we are going into the light, and, oh, father, how bright and beautiful everything is!" So the human race, which for uncounted ages groped in the cellar of animal passion, under the dominion of hate, selfishness and brute force, is slowly beginning to perceive a new light, is gradually going up out of the cellar into the sunlight of love. The path is long, and humanity moves slowly.

Social development, ethical progress and spiritual supremacy are marked by centuries and ages rather than days and months. Yet, when we compare the development of humanity to-day with the high-water mark of olden times, when the doctrines of "an eye for an eye" and "might makes right" were all but universally accepted, and when the acme of ethics was considered reached by those who loved their friends and hated their enemies, we shall agree with Whittier when he sings:

> "There sometimes glimpses on my sight
> Through present wrong the eternal right;
> And step by step, since time began,
> I see the steady gain of man."

Notwithstanding the ebbs in the rising tide of human life, the general trend of humanity is unmistakably toward the realization of that spirituality which alone can give unto the immortal soul peace, joy and the reserve strength which only comes to those who are enabled to draw upon the eternal reservoir of redemptive love. When a soul is so permeated with love that it goes out to every struggling life, it has reached a degree of true culture of far more moment to humanity and itself than the most elaborate intellectual training that the proudest universities can give. The arrogant multi-millionaire who assumes superiority by virtue of dollars, and who, dwelling on the animal plane, lives for selfish gratification, is far lower in the scale of true nobility than the unselfish and devoted mother, in the little log cabin on the western frontier, who patiently and lovingly strives to make her home a center of love, peace and happiness, and whose dearest aim is to bring up in the paths of truth, integrity and highmindedness the lives intrusted to her keeping.

II.

An atmosphere of love promotes harmony and favors health in body and mind. It fills the soul with peace; it encourages every ennobling emotion; it carries with it the dignity, gentleness and refinement of true culture. There is a beautiful oriental tradition in which is described a rose that is said to bloom eternally at the gate of Paradise, and that at some moment there comes into every life a breath of its wonderful fragrance, raising by its mystic power the thoughts, ambitions and aspirations to nobler ends, and filling the whole being with a peace and happiness never known before. Such is the influence of love, which keeps the Golden Rule as a guide and beacon through life, ever striving to elevate manhood, to sweeten some bitter life, to strengthen some faltering soul.

Emerson thus speaks of the growth of love in a single breast, narrow in nature at first, but reaching out into the world in the grand consummation of its development: "For it is to be considered that this passion of which we speak, though it begins with youth, yet it forsakes not the old, or rather suffers no one who is really its servant to grow old, but makes the aged participator of it not less than the tender maiden, though in a different and nobler way. For it is a fire that kindles its embers in the narrow nook of a private bosom, caught from the wandering spark out of another heart, glows and enlarges until it beams upon multitudes of men and women — upon the universal heart of all, and so lights up the whole world and all nations with its glorious flame."

Love is the motor of life upon the higher plain. Many men and women who are struggling from the lower to the higher fail to appreciate this fact in its full significance; hence there is friction, the warring of the selfish desires and the old-time ideals and ambitions with the higher and broader impulses from which is born unselfishness, that sweet but unostentatious flower of the spirit, so like the violet, mignonette, and lily-of-the-valley, which, obscured by their more showy companions, are content to live, blossom and breathe forth their wonderfully refined fragrance for the delight of all who come within the range of their influence. When the spirit of love rules in the brain, it becomes luminous, the harshness disappears, and breadth of thought is no less marked than the positive inspiration which emanates from the love-lit natures. Well might the ancient apostle rank love above even sturdy faith and steadfast hope.

A very beautiful illustration of the redemptive power of love over a person considered low in the scale of culture was related to me many years ago, and, as it is so typical in its character, I give it as nearly as I can recollect it. The incident occurred in France during the gloomy days of the terrible religious persecution in that then ill-starred land. A philanthropist, named Jerome Harel, who saw and felt the sufferings of the masses in their fierce struggle for life, went frequently into the streets where the poor were crowded together in misery and wretchedness, and freely dispensed money to the distressed. One day he came face to face with a young man on whose haggard countenance despair had stamped its frightful impress. Irresistibly drawn to this youth by that strange magnetic power of which the wisest know so little, yet feel so oft, he accosted him kindly, and inquired into the trouble that so visibly manifested itself in his face. Frankly the youth replied that he was suspected of being tainted with heresy, and his employer had discharged him some days since. His parents were dead; a sister, to whom he was devoted, was his only near relative; she was now dying with fever,— he had no money for medicine or food. He had tried everywhere for work, but all gates were closed to him. M. Harel heard his story; gave him means; visited the sick

sister, who died a few days later. Subsequently the youth was arrested and sent to the galleys, his only crime being that he was "suspected of heresy." At the galleys, Listolier — for such was the youth's name — coming constantly in contact with criminal natures, breathing an atmosphere of brutality and crime, became himself hardened, as have tens of thousands of other innocent victims, who have been sent to prison comparatively good men, but to emerge from confinement ruined wretches destined to curse the race. In the course of time Listolier was set at liberty; he made his way to Paris. Here the Argus eyes of the police watched him from time to time. He felt conscious of the stamp of shame he carried with him. He sought work, only to meet repeated refusals. He begged bread; he almost starved. And then came the fearful struggle in a man's nature when starvation joins with forces of evil for the conquest of spiritual promptings; the conflict in his soul was frightful, and at last he fell. Two months later he was making his livelihood by robbery. One night he broke into the mansion of a rich bachelor. He entered the bedroom where peacefully slept the master of the house; the moonbeams fell through the window across the bed, lighting the face of the sleeper. Listolier approached, knife in hand, murder in heart. Suddenly he seemed riveted to the floor; his face grew strangely white; from his hand the glittering blade fell with a crash; on his knees by the bed sank the robber, while from his lips escaped a groan such as mortals only utter when the soul writhes with remorse. M. Harel — for the sleeper was none other — awoke, and, seizing a weapon, prepared to defend himself. He soon found, however, he had no cause for fear. Listolier, in the agony of remorse, narrated the details of his career after his arrest, closing by saying, "Now, sir, kill me or call the police. I came here prepared to murder. I never saw before how hopeless a wretch a man may become." "You came here to murder," said M. Harel, slowly; "you shall remain here a saved man. I know," said the aged philanthropist, "the causes that led to your ruin, for you were not sinful when the cruel edict of intolerance sent you to the galleys. Society is as much responsible for your downfall as you yourself;" and to himself he added — "far more so." Then he continued: "Now I, a part of society, will help redeem you. Stay with me, my trusted servant. To-morrow I go to the south of France for some months; you may accompany me. When you return your associates will have lost sight of and forgotten you, and you yourself will be so changed that you will not fall into temptation. The gates of the future open before you and offer you the opportunity to be a true man."

Listolier was saved. He became invaluable to M. Harel — brave, noble, frank and trustworthy, with a great heart ever throbbing in sympathy for the poor and oppressed. Before his death M. Harel gave him a large sum, saying in so doing, "The poor will be blessed when I am gone"; and they were, for, long after M. Harel's face was seen no more, the poor blessed M. Morrel, the good, who was none other than Listolier, the convict. This story is a sublime illustration of the power of love, whose sweet influence uplifts every soul that encourages its development, and sheds on other lives the glory of the higher life, the richest blessing from above, the splendor of a divine influence.

The scholastic education, so highly prized and so valuable in this day of fierce competition for success in life, does not supply that culture most essential to the building of happy homes on earth, and the unfolding of a broad, spiritual life, or that preparation absolutely necessary for the soul, if it is to be fitted on earth to enter the University of Eternity. In truth, too frequently the college education and the influence to which the young life is subjected in getting it tend to destroy this most vital element of true education.

All influences that promote selfishness, intolerance and a love of vice or immorality, or that take from life its deeper and richer significance and encourage a butterfly existence, are essentially demoralizing and destructive to the proper growth of one's higher nature. When we measure a life by the work it accomplishes in ameliorating the sufferings, stimulating the higher impulses, and brightening the existence of the toiling and struggling brotherhood of man,— in creating an ideal home, where the soul is cultured, where the fruits of the spirit ripen into the richest maturity, where the flowers of truth, charity and gentleness fling forth their fragrance on every hand, where day by day man advances nearer and nearer the great throbbing soul of Infinity, while his heart expands and becomes more Godlike at every step that is taken,— we say, measured by this standard (and only by this can we regard life worth living), many whose names are great, and whose fame hangs on the lips of tens of thousands, are only skeletons, soulless and lifeless, while thousands whose names the mad world little notes are entitled to a lofty position.

III.

The development of the supremacy of love is a growth rather than something to be attained at a single bound. For there is so much inborn selfishness in the heart of man that must be uprooted, so much love of one's own enjoyments and disregard for the fate of others that must be placed in subordination, that he who wishes to give his soul here that culture that will make life on earth a blessing to the race, and life beyond a triumphal march of endless progression,— he who appreciates the boundless possibilities of the spirit, and who would, so far as opportunities permit, benefit every life that comes into contact with his own, will find before him a lesson that requires all the days allotted to him to master. He cannot hope to attain a disinterested or unselfish heart in an hour, a day, or a year; it is a growth,— the changing of the crude rock into the breathing statue. One might as well expect to master Greek or Latin in a day as suddenly to change his nature, in which there is so much that is selfish, into a life of self-sacrifice.

We cannot wait for great opportunities to present themselves; it is the little acts of life that give wealth or poverty to our higher nature, according as they are improved or disregarded. When the needs of the world come to us for a helping hand we are liable to revolve in our minds as to whether or not we are to be benefited. Self — self — always self, instead of inquiring whether the action needed or steps contemplated will help the world onward, or make the hearts and homes of the people purer and happier.

Nowhere is the cultivation of unselfishness more important than at the fireside. If the husband and wife will mutually determine to cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice in their daily life, their homes will be gardens of joy, peace and fragrance, and the children that come into such charmed circles will follow the precepts given and the examples seen in the lives of their parents, and grow up strong in the cardinal virtues.

IV.

Our educational systems are largely responsible for the lack of emphasis given to the Golden Rule and all it implies in society to-day. Hugo has well said, "The tendency of man to-day is to fall into his stomach." We may go a step farther, and add that another pernicious tendency of scholastic education is to exalt the intellect above the spiritual nature. It is not enough that man be fed; the mind must be instructed. It is not enough that the intellect be schooled; the higher intuitions must be quickened, the moral nature aroused, the coronal region of the brain must be stimulated, that divine illumination, that spiritual supremacy may ensue. This is true in regard to society no less than it is applicable to individuals. The powerful parasites who prey upon the hard earnings of millions, acquiring vast fortunes by means of indirection, no less than the swindler, the forger and the polished libertine, are striking illustrations of intellectual training when it is not accompanied by a moral uplift. The fatal flaw in our educational systems of the past is to be found in a narrow training, or an equally limited and often more dangerous inculcation of religious dogmas and creeds, in lieu of that broad spirit of love which, by developing the superior region of the brain, causes the Golden Rule to supplant the spirit of selfish greed, creedal dogmatism, or unilluminated intellectuality.

Slowly we are learning more and more of the redemptive power of love. The breadth, peace, strength and nobility it gives to life when this supreme lesson is learned is even now beginning to flush the eastern sky of thought with a prophecy of the splendor of a new day.

This Unholy War.

BY GEORGE W. HOSS.

Some wars have been characterized as "holy," but if any deserve the title of "unholy" it is the one now raging between England and the Transvaal in South Africa. This unholiness lies, as I see it, with England. Look at the conditions:

1. A peace-loving and Christian Queen, who has for more than half a century reflected honor on her nation and on her sex.

2. A people in the very front rank of nations in civilization and Christian sentiment. So strong is this sentiment that the government has deemed it wise to recognize one branch of the Christian Church and provide for its support from the public revenues.

3. The English nation, through its commissioners in the Peace Conference at The Hague, was one of the most prominent and most efficient in formulating and adopting the articles providing for an International Court of Arbitration.

4. These articles pledge all nations ratifying the same (1) to efforts to secure peace among nations in general, and (2) to specific efforts among themselves. Here are the first two articles:

"Article 1. With the object of avoiding as far as possible recourse to force in international relations, the signatory powers agree to employ all their efforts to bring about by pacific means the solution of differences which may arise between states.

"Article 2. The signatory powers decide that in the case of grave difference of opinion or conflict they will, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers."

5. In harmony with this comes a proposition from the Transvaal to England for arbitration. This is in the first article of the ultimatum from the Transvaal, and reads thus:

"That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration or by whatever mode may be agreed upon by this government and her Majesty's government."

In the face of this, all England runs mad with the war spirit. Instead of considering arbitration, in six days Parliament is voting money and men for war. This war spirit is fairly expressed by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, in Parliament, when he said: "There will be no disposition on the part of this House to place any obstacles in the way of granting supplies for the rapid and effective prosecution of the war."

The spirit of disregard of arbitration is shown: (1) in the fact that no mention, so far as the press dispatches show, was made of the Transvaal proposition; (2) in the vote on the resolution in behalf of arbitration. Mr. John Dillon moved an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, as follows:

"We humbly submit, before more bloodshed takes place, that a proposal be made in the spirit of the recent Conference at The Hague, with a view to finding in arbitration a settlement of the differences between the two governments."

After a very brief discussion, a vote was taken with 54 for the resolution and 322 against. Here were 54 out of 376 in favor of arbitration, and 322 opposed. Here is the war spirit scenting blood. Verily, we are driven to the sad conclusion that the *savage* is still dominant in man whenever the war tocsin is sounded. Christianity and Christian civilization seem to go for nothing. Mr. Dillon uttered a sentiment — namely, "In the spirit of the Conference at The Hague"— that ought to have made every member of Parliament stop and reverently consider whether the voice of twenty-six nations does not mean something. But no; it was dashed aside with a rush and flippancy, as if it were the voice of a town meeting.

Even in the face of this majority against arbitration, we are happy to be assured that there were a few elect ones who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Mr. Dillon characterized this as an "ignominious war"; another as a "damnable massacre"; and Mr. Davitt resigned his seat in the house as a means of expressing his protest against the war, and in his speech of resignation he declared that "This war would be known as the greatest crime of the century." Can any lover of peace doubt that the centuries to come will look back upon this war as the blackest spot on the once fair escutcheon of England?

In view of the above, and in view of the disproportionate strength of the two nations,— a giant attacking a pigmy,— can we do aught else than call this an unholy, an ignominious war? We do not consider the question of honor, that bugbear of nations. Christ did not consider the question of honor when they came out with sword and staves to take him, but divinely, and in the spirit of peace, said to Peter, "Put up thy sword."

Opportunities come alike to individuals and to nations. Christ's opportunity came, and he used it in behalf of peace and humanity. England's opportunity came,— the opportunity to help in the great cause of arbitration, and later in disarmament, and ultimately in the establishment of peace, perpetual and universal, among the nations of the earth,— but alas! that opportunity is gone, and the mighty has fallen, dragging the garments of white-robed Peace in the dust.

In closing, two points are to be noted: (1) That these statements concerning Parliament are taken from press dispatches. If these are erroneous, and so do injustice, I am sorry. (2) Neither England nor any other nation has, so far as I know, ratified the articles of the Hague Conference, and hence is not bound in a legal sense by these articles; but she is bound by a higher and more sacred bond, namely, responsibility for her influence — an influence that, on the side of peace, might set the nations forward half a century; on the side of war, may sweep many into the abysm of blood and cripple civilization for decades to come.

WICHITA, KAN., Oct. 26.

Why the Alaska Boundary Commission Failed.

The best statement of the Alaska boundary question, from the American point of view, which has yet been given to the public, was that made by Hon. John W. Foster, a member of the Commission, before the National Geographical Society at Washington on November 3. Mr. Foster, reading and expounding the treaty of 1825, said that the territory in dispute had been in the undisputed possession of Russia, and afterwards of the United States, for more than seventy years, or since the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain. According to this treaty, Russia was to have a continuous strip of territory on the mainland from the extremity of Prince of Wales Island around all the arms of the sea. The strip was to be ten marine leagues wide in all its extent, unless inside that limit a chain of mountains existed which constituted a natural watershed between the two countries. Surveys have established that there exists no such defined watershed. Proof that the territory in question is none of it British is found, he said, in the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company, with the approval of the British and Russian governments, leased of the Russian-American Company in 1839 the very strip now in controversy.

Mr. Foster stated that the British government, for the first time in an official manner, set up its claim of a line near the seaward mountains and the waters of all the inlets of the sea after the meeting of the joint high commission at Quebec, in August of last year. He then referred to the publication by the Canadian government of the protocol of proceedings of that commission.

The protocol shows that, after sessions of several months, the commissioners were unable to agree. In a failure of concurrence as to the language of the treaty of 1825, one of the two methods of adjustment was proposed by the British commissioners. The first was a conventional boundary by which Canada should receive, by session or perpetual grant, Pyramid harbor, on Lynn canal, and a strip of land connecting it with Canadian territory to the northwest, and the remaining boundary line to be drawn in the main, conformable to the contention of the United States. The American commissioners, not being prepared to accept this proposition, the alternative was submitted by the British commissioners of an arbitration of the whole territory in dispute, in conformity with the terms of the Venezuelan arbitration, and, in response to an inquiry from their American colleagues whether the selection of an umpire from the American continent would be considered, the British commissioners replied that they would regard such a selection as most objectionable.

The American commissioners declined the British plan of arbitration, and stated that there was no analogy between the present controversy and the Venezuelan dispute; that in the latter case the occupation of the territory in question had, from the beginning, been followed by the constant and repeated protests and objections of Venezuela, and the controversy was one of long standing; but that in the case of the Alaskan territory there has been a peaceful and undisputed occupation and exercise of sovereignty for more than seventy years, and that no question respecting this occupation and sovereignty had been raised by the British government until the present commission had been created. They challenged their British colleagues to cite a single instance in history where a subject attended with such circumstances had been submitted to arbitration, and in declining the British proposition they proposed the plan of settlement which had been framed by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote in 1897. The treaty which these two distinguished statesmen framed so carefully marked the most advanced stage yet attained for the peaceful settlement in international questions not susceptible of adjustment by diplomatic negotiation. In that convention, drafted with a view to "consecrating by treaty the principle of international arbitration," they provided that all such questions should be submitted to arbitrators and an umpire except territorial claims. They recognized that territorial questions affected so vitally the sovereignty and honor of nations that as to them a different method was necessary, and they provided that these should be submitted to a tribunal of three judges of the highest standing in each country, and that a binding decision could only be rendered by a vote of five of the six judges. The American commissioners embodied this plan in their proposition for the settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute, with the modification that a binding decision might be rendered by four of the six judges.

This proposition was rejected by the British commissioners, and, no other plan being brought forward, the joint high commission adjourned with the understanding that the boundary question should be referred back to the two governments for further diplomatic negotiations.

Commerce Will Suppress War.

In an address on the "Interdependence of Nations," given before the International Commercial Congress recently held at Philadelphia, Edward Atkinson spoke thus of the ethical principles controlling commerce and making it certain that international trade will ultimately suppress war:

My faith is firm in the power that makes for righteousness, and I believe the dawning century will witness the fruition of Kant's prophecy of eternal peace, when the beneficent force of commerce will suppress the hell of war.

On what grounds may it be held that the force of commerce will suppress war? We may assume that there is a power supreme which makes for righteousness and that the conduct of the work of this world must be governed by ethical principles. If there is no such power, then the reverse. What are the principles or rules of action governing the conduct of commerce? Probity, integrity, truth, a high standard of character, mutual trust and mutual service. What is the motive? Gain; not at the cost of others, but to mutual benefit. What is the service of commerce? To distribute the abundance of things necessary to human welfare; to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to house the homeless. It has been well said by Sir Henry Sumner Maine that the conception of trust on which credit rests, which gives life to commerce, is relatively modern. In the Homeric literature the cunning of Ulysses possessed as high a merit as the wisdom of Nestor or the courage of Achilles, but in the conduct of modern commerce such conditions have been developed in the relations of men to each other as to make it a truth sustained by observation that "the trust reposed in and deserved by the many creates the opportunity for the fraud of the few." At a moderate estimate of the value of the annual product of this country and the cost of its conversion from one form to another, and of its distribution through all its manifold phases, there is at least five hundred dollars' worth of trade, of bargain and sale every year, nine-tenths at least on credit, in order that each man, woman and child of our seventy-six million people may be fed, clothed and sheltered. It would not be worth a quarter of one per cent. or twenty-five cents on a hundred dollars to secure the guarantee even of the nation for the payment of these obligations substantially at the time when they become due. Neither banks nor merchants could pay a quarter per cent. for such a guarantee on all transactions. Aside from these purchases and sales of goods and wares, there are to be added the huge dealings resting on good faith, in stocks and bonds, in real estate, and for services of other kinds.

Reverse this picture. Admitting that high and noble qualities have been, are now, and will again be developed in the conduct of war; admitting that war in the defense of liberty is justifiable, sometimes necessary,—yet on what principles is the science of war now based? What motives of action govern the conduct of warfare even when directed by the men of highest repute? Is not the first precept to take advantage of the enemy at every point? In the conduct of a campaign must not the motive be to deceive the opponent, to mislead him, to learn about his movements by the use of spies? Is it not necessary, in fact, to lie, to cheat, to ambush, to strike the enemy in the back or on the flank, to secure the gun or other instrument of carnage by which his forces may be slaughtered without power of defense on his part; often to destroy his property, to devastate his country, and by every evil method that would be thought dishonorable and fraudulent in commerce, to secure the ends that are sought in warfare? I challenge any one to deny the validity of these statements. They may be qualified, they may be palliated, they may be stated in less offensive words; but in their general terms such are the differences in precept and practice between the conduct of commerce and the conduct of war. It follows that to deny that as time goes on the hell of war will be suppressed by the service of commerce is to deny that God reigns.

New Books.

A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania. By Isaac Sharpless, president of Haverford College. Philadelphia: T. S. Leach & Co. Two vols., 12 mo., cloth. Price, $1.50 per vol.

T. S. Leach & Co. of Philadelphia have just published the second volume of President Sharpless' "History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania." The first volume was published in 1898 under the title, "A Quaker Experiment in Government." It treated the subject of what has been called William Penn's "Holy Experiment in Civil Government" in an original and critical way. President Sharpless, in addition to being a scholarly, painstaking and conscientious investigator, is peculiarly fitted for the treatment of the whole subject of the Quaker history of Pennsylvania, by having passed his life in the very region where this history was made. He has thus been able to grasp many phases of the subject which no investigator from a distance could ever do. In this second volume he has made a careful effort to give the real facts as to the position which the Friends took in the Revolutionary War, a subject which has been much commented on and much misunderstood. Dr. Sharpless does not attempt "either to defend or to condemn the position taken by the Friends of Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War; but as accurately as possible, in the light of contemporary writings found in the records of meetings, private letters and public documents, to state that position fairly." These documents, with which the volume is so enriched, throw an immense flood of true light on the subject, and ought to enable any honest historian hereafter to form a correct and fair judgment of what the Friends of that time were and of the relation of their actions to the principles by which they were guided. If the novelists who have recently attempted to throw these Quaker doings into fiction would "read, ponder and inwardly digest" these documents of President Sharpless' book, we should have no more such hideous historical caricatures as some of those found, for instance, in "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker." We commend President Sharpless' two volumes to all students of American history, for the subject which he so accurately treats is more than Quaker history. The Quakers, as Dr. Gregg says, were among the most important "makers of America."

War's Cup of Woe.

The following item, sent out by the Associated Press last week, helps us see, though we cannot *feel*, what must be the almost daily scenes in the towns and villages of the Transvaal, where nearly all the men are under arms:

"A private message from Ladysmith to-day says that a messenger, who had just arrived from Pretoria, says, the women there are weeping and wailing on the market place. Three trains have been despatched from Klerksdorp to fetch the wounded from Mafeking. It is estimated there are seven hundred killed and wounded."

The sight of men dying or lying wounded on the field never completes the picture of a battle. Most of the bullets which pierce a human body on the field pierce a human heart in some far-off home. The paper which tells us about this market place, with its crowds of weeping, wailing women, wives and mothers, who have lost their loved ones, also tells us about the "marvelous heroism" of the soldiers. It is this marvelous heroism of soldiers in the heat of battle which has for centuries so fascinated and dazzled the eyes of men that they have failed to notice the weeping of the women in the market place, refusing to be comforted, because the fatal bullet has not only killed men, but pierced and torn hearts. War on its own battle-fields is ghastly enough, but its cup of woe is not fully realized until we hear the bitter cry from the homes and the market places. And this is the way civilized men, after nineteen centuries of Christianity, decide which nation is right on an international question!—*The American Friend.*

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No Tonic to Literature.

The *Union Signal*, discussing a recent war editorial in the *Independent*, says:

"The excitement of war does doubtless set pugilistic pens a-going Romance clings about the soldier who rides forth to die or kill. But the very ferment of the mind when the dogs of war slip the leash deny the possibility of that calm, pure, strong, depth of thought out of which alone true art is born. Men do not understand death truly when they are hurrying each other into the valley of the shadow. If they did, they would stay their hands. 'Man's inhumanity to man' cannot teach the sacredness of human brotherhood. The gentle strength of womanhood has a broader platform for development and putting to the proof when peace broods than when war frowns. Life is a small thing when it is an exchange for lead and steel, and the "splendor" of death on the battle-field is a sorry thing beside the triumphal passing on of lives victorious over life — and death. In times of peace all the arts take on new vigor. This cannot otherwise be. The human mind is like the chemist's vessel where crystals form. A shock to the liquid delays crystallization. In stillness only are the lovely forms perfected. In times of peace man's best nature and noblest powers grow and expand. The pulsings that answer to the cannon's boom are not creative currents — the *Independent* 'to the contrary notwithstanding.' A crop of war songs, stories and speeches may 'enrich' the magazines for awhile, but it will take prayers and tears and life itself to overcome the fever induced thereby."

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